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526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not the slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing."

554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, but no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes that
616 are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a ketúaye or
561 pepyé festival is held that year.

561 2. The pąrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional in
575 that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society races against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, and the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, in the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against the Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termination celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the ką' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members of
628 different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapons and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkõ'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance from the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad blood between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs;
881 but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only
562 the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there is no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap in
562 competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of the

" Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.

681 622 Arbitrariamente não são elles sós os senhores das vidas dos seus povos, ainda mesmo para a expiação dos crimes, porque quando estes se perpetram, sendo com effeito prohibido entre elles o furto intestino e o assassinio, apenas pode o chefe fazer entregar o delinquente ás partes prejudicadas; si elle roubou ellas o espancam muito a seu gosto; porem si elle matou, tambem o matam, sem que o supplicio deva estender-se ao tormento, ou a outro genero de morte, que não seja descarregar-lhe um pau no alto da cabeça e deitar-lhe os miolos fóra.

(They [the chiefs] are not the arbitrary and sole masters over their people's lives, not even as to the expiation of crimes, for when such are committed, and internal theft and murder are actually forbidden, the chief can merely have the culprit surrendered to the aggrieved party, who beat him up at will for theft. But if he has killed someone, they kill him too, the penalty not including torture nor any other mode of death than their crushing his skull with a blow of a club so that the brains come spurting out.)

682 ● 628 As for murderers, it may be said to the honor of these Indians that neither I nor any person living has experienced a murder within the tribe. The only traditional instance relates to a time before firearms were known, that is, at least 124 years ago. Since it illustrates more than one point of social custom I shall briefly summarize the story:

One evening after the dance in the plaza, when the performers had dispersed, Karąti, a mature man famous as a warrior, seized the wife of a young lad named Wohõ' by the arm, led her to the edge of the plaza, and remained lying with her there till midnight. The following night he did the same. On the third evening Wohõ' was standing by the fire with his age class, when one of his kwų'nõ reproached him for his lack of courage. Wohõ' answered that he was not afraid of Karąti, but of starting a quarrel; but since his kwų'nõ had censured him he would act now. He took his bow, loosened the string, which he tied round the upper end, and waited. At the close of the dance Karąti once more seized the girl and took her to the edge of the plaza. After a while Wohõ' followed. Karąti was lying on his back, his arm resting on the girl's arm, whose leg crossed his body. Then Wohõ' pushed the tip of his stave through the man's stomach, pinning him to the ground. The man merely groaned and died.

The relatives of both men at once gathered in hostile groups, but the chiefs intervened, preventing a feud by inducing the murdered man's kin to accept wergild, viz. a bow, a large gourd bottle filled with ground nuts, other cultivated plants, and a plot of cleared land. This settled the difficulty for good.

It thus appears that composition was an ancient institution, the wergild being paid to prevent further bloodshed.

685 I have personally witnessed several cases of theft. A certain Tepyét (Hanging-fish) was until about his twentieth year a veritable kleptomaniac, stealing anything loose, from matches to oxen. In order to elude detection when crossing the open plaza with a stolen bush-knife he tied it to his ankle with a string, dragging it on the ground behind him so that at least from a distance he escaped notice because of the grass growing between the radial paths. But the tracks were found, and he was forced to make restoration. One day I myself missed a handful of coins from the top of a trunk standing against the wall. The thief had perforated the grass wall so as to be able to reach the money with his hand. I complained first to my "brother," the Chief Kukrãčą', who brought the matter up before the rest of the council, who entrusted my special hąpín, Čątú, with the case. He came, looked over the situation indoors, then walked round the house, inspected the perforation, and declared, "It was Tepyét!" Then, accompanied by Kukrãčą', he went to Tepyét, flatly accused him, and exacted the recovery of the money. Subsequently the thief tried to efface the bad impression created by rendering me various minor favors. During the final phase of his initiation he relapsed, stealing an ox with the aid of an accomplice, and grossly transgressed the rules of seclusion, so that he came within an ace of being disciplined by the council. However, after marriage he suddenly turned over a new leaf, becoming sensible and stable, so that during the four years since then I have had only favorable reports about him.

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was told, the family of the injured wife would have demanded indemnification. Again, an intoxicated Indian kicked his wife and she was ailing for some time after; a divorce ensued, but no further consequences. In addition I noted four or five rather harmless drunken brawls. When a drunkard remains a nuisance, the chiefs have him tied unless the man's relatives have already resorted to that measure, not as a penalty but a precaution. I have never seen in any Timbira village a post to which culprits are tied by way of punishment.[557]

The damages demanded when defloration is not followed by wedlock and the attitude toward adultery have been described.

Disciplinary transgressions are punished only in the case of the lads in initiatory seclusion. During the nocturnal reunions of the pepyé in their first commandant's courtyard, the culprit was called to appear between the double line of pepyé seated along the walls, where the second commandant addressed to him a prolix rebuke. In graver cases the boy had to lift his arms and the two messenger boys administered several lashes on his back with the long, thin rods (pĩhêre) that are their inseparable appanage. A pepyé who breaks the rule of chastity is forced to eat great quantities of Cayenne pepper. In 1933 the councilors were about to decree this penalty for Tepyét because he sneaked out of his retreat every night to visit his fiancée; but when Tepyét saw that the elders really meant to punish him, he altered his conduct in the nick of time. Among the Apą'nyekra such a culprit would be removed from his retreat and set in the plaza beside his associate in guilt, which was regarded as very ignominious.

Evil sorcerers were executed (see p. 239 f.).

The following legal principles emerge from the concrete instances: (1) Both the culprit and the aggrieved party are aided by the extended families; (2) the chiefs and councilors take pains to adjust quarrels as soon as possible; (3) for this purpose they use the services either of specially gifted persons or of the individuals linked by specially close ties to the parties involved.

Chiefs.—As indicated above, a chief does not command and punish, but is above all a peacemaker. He does not interfere in a family's private affairs, but when his decision is requested it is held binding. At the time of my visit there were three village chiefs, Ropką' (Jaguar-skin), Hąktokót, and Kukrãčą'. Ropką', the oldest, had been mamkyẽ'ti of an age-class that graduated about 1893, but his colleagues had never served in a corresponding capacity. Whenever strife threatens, the chiefs and councilors send men of recognized skill as moderators to calm a refractory tribesman.

The leader of any unit excepting the age-classes is called pa'hí, mehopa'hí, but only a village chief is hąmrén.

Chiefs exercise little political control and display a minimum of individual assertiveness, for the omnipresent ceremonial regulates most of the social life, and it is their and the council's duty to maintain the customary law rather than legislate anew. Chiefs lack badges of official status and receive not a whit more of the food offerings periodically presented in the plaza than the councilors associated with them. They work for a living precisely as any fellow tribesman. However, they do enjoy a measure of prestige, as shown by certain rules of etiquette. Thus, strangers must present themselves to one of the chiefs and explain the object of their visit; he may then either discuss the matter with his colleagues and the council at their next session or immediately call an extraordinary meeting. In the plaza a chief always sits near the center, for it would be indecorous for anyone else to seat himself in front of a chief or to turn his back upon him.

[557] As related by Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 12.